

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1571

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: MEETING WITH SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD

SUMMARY: SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD VICE-MINISTER KOVALEV CALLED ON AMBASSADOR SHERER MARCH 8 TO STRESS SOVIET INTEREST IN EARLY AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS. DURING 90-MINUTE CONVERSATION KOVALEV SHOWED SOME FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH BASKET III PREAMBLE LANGUAGE AND REITERATED SOVIET INTEREST IN POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP TO CSCE. END SUMMARY

1. GENERAL -- KOVALEV EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT CONFERENCE WORK HAD INTENSIFIED AND NOTED THAT SOME COUNTRIES WERE ALREADY BOOKING ROOMS IN HELSINKI FOR THIRD PHASE. SOVIETS APPRECIATED USDEL EFFORTS TO ADVANCE PACE OF CONFERENCE WORK. TO CONTINUE GOOD WORKING RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND USSR DELS, KOVALEV INVITED USDEL FOR LUNCH MARCH 13.

2. INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS -- NOTING THIS PRINCIPLE WOULD COME UP FOR DISCUSSION SHORTLY, KOVALEV SAID SOVIETS CONTINUED TO THINK IT WAS KEY TO SUCCESS OF CSCE. SOVIETS HOPED TO HAVE INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE DRAFTED IN ITS FINAL FORM BEFORE EASTER
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RECESS. ANY FORMULATIONS ON CHANGES IN BORDERS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED AND THERE SHOULD BE NO BRACKETS. IF WORDING COULD BE AGREED AT THIS STAGE, KOVALEV WAS CONVINCED CONFERENCE WOULD STRIKE A BALANCE WHICH WOULD SATISFY ALL DELEGATIONS. WORK IN ALL AREAS, INCLUDING

BASKET III, COULD THEN PROGRESS. CRYSTAL-CLEAR EXPRESSION OF THIS PRINCIPLE WOULD EMBODY RESULTS OF LAST WAR AND PROCLAIM THAT THESE RESULTS ARE HERE TO STAY. THIS WOULD HELP TO GUARANTEE PEACE IN THE FUTURE. SHERER REPLIED THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO HELP TO FIND A FORMULATION ON THIS POINT WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL DELEGATIONS. DID SOVIETS THINK FORMULATIONS IN FRG/SOVIET, FRG/POLISH, AND FRG/CZECH TREATIES WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE HERE?

3. KOVALEV AGREED THAT FORMULA IN FRG/SOVIET TREATY WOULD BE FULLY SATISFACTORY. SOVIET FORMULATION OF THIS PRINCIPLE IS BASED ON LANGUAGE FROM THAT TREATY. SOVIETS WILL NOT PUSH ANY FURTHER THAN THIS BUT WILL NOT ALLOW PRINCIPLE TO BE WEAKENED. PRINCIPLE SHOULD MENTION BOTH INVIOABILITY AND FACT THAT THERE ARE NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, NOW OR IN FUTURE. THERE SHOULD BE NO MENTION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE. SHERER ASKED FOR SUGGESTIONS ON HOW FRG DESIRES COULD BE SATISFIED--PERHAPS BY INCLUDING IDEA OF PEACEFUL CHANGE IN ANOTHER PRINCIPLE. KOVALEV ANSWERED THAT FIRST TASK IS TO CLEARLY EXPRESS PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY, WITH NO ADDITIONS, AND IN LANGUAGE CLOSE TO FRG/SOVIET FORMULA OR FORMULA USED IN SOVIET DRAFT DECLARATION. THIS WOULD IMPLY NO CHANGE IN FRG COMMITMENTS SINCE THEY HAVE ACCEPTED LANGUAGE OF FRG/SOVIET TREATY. FRENCH DRAFT OF THIS PRINCIPLE IS ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE AND FINAL VERSION COULD NOT BE ONE MILLIMETER MORE OR LESS THAN FRG/SOVIET TREATY LANGUAGE. SHERER SAID WE WOULD BE TRYING TO FIND ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE ON THIS PRINCIPLE. AS DEBATE DEVELOPS WE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR SOVIET SUGGESTIONS OF HOW WE COULD BE HELPFUL IN ARRIVING AT A SOLUTION.

4. BASKET III PREAMBLE -- SHERER ASKED IF SOVIET DESIRE TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO LAWS AND CUSTOMS IN BASKET III PREAMBLE WAS STILL AS STRONG AS IT WAS EARLIER. KOVALEV REPLIED THAT SOVIETS ARE AWARE MOST DELEGATIONS PREFER A GENERAL REFERENCE TO ALL THE PRINCIPLES, BUT LANGUAGE OF DUTCH DRAFT PREAMBLE WAS NOT SUFFICIENT. FINAL TEXT SHOULD CONTAIN SOMETHING ABOUT OBSERVANCE OR RESPECT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES IN EACH SPECIFIC AREA OF BASKET III. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS UNDERSTANDING THAT NO COUNTRY WILL INTERVENE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS AND WILL RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY, CONFIDENTIAL

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LAWS AND CUSTOMS. SHERER ASKED IF THIS NEED COULD BE SATISFIED BY A GENERAL REFERENCE TO ALL THE PRINCIPLES. KOVALEV REPLIED THAT SOVIETS NOW SEE THAT MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES FAVOR SUCH A GENERAL REFERENCE. SOVIETS FAVOR BULGARIAN TEXT, MENTIONING PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERFERENCE AND RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS, BUT MOST IMPORTANT POINT IS NON-INTERFERENCE. SHERER SAID WESTERN COUNTRIES WERE CONCERNED BY TWO POINTS: USE OF PHRASE "LAWS AND CUSTOMS", AND GIVING CERTAIN PRINCIPLES SPECIAL IMPORTANCE BY CITING THEM SPECIFICALLY IN THE PREAMBLE. KOVALEV SAID HE WAS FAMILIAR WITH THESE ARGUMENTS. SOVIETS CAN ACCEPT A REFERENCE TO ALL THE PRINCIPLES BUT ALSO WANT TO MENTION CERTAIN PRINCIPLES WHICH HAVE SPECIAL APPLICATION TO THE BASKET III FIELD, WHICH IS ESPECIALLY OPEN TO POSSIBLE INTER-

REFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. SHERER SAID US WISHES TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION ON THIS ISSUE. HE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY SUGGESTIONS ON HOW THIS PROBLEM COULD BE RESOLVED.

5. MOST-FAVORED NATION CLAUSE -- KOVALEV AGREED THERE WERE NO SPECIAL US-SOVIET PROBLEMS IN BASKET II. ONE OF MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS IN CSCE, HOWEVER, WAS PRINCIPLE OF MFN. THIS WAS NOW UNDER DISCUSSION BUT SO FAR NO AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED. US REP HAD SPOKEN IN FAVOR OF ACCEPTING THIS PRINCIPLE. SHERER SAID MEMBERS OF US GOVERNMENT WERE CURRENTLY TESTIFYING BEFORE CONGRESS ON THIS SUBJECT. ANY REFERENCE TO NONDISCRIMINATION SHOULD WORK BOTH WAYS AND NOT BE DIRECTED SIMPLY AGAINST OUR POLICIES. KOVALEV AGREED THAT FORMULA ON THIS SUBJECT SHOULD BE BALANCED. HE SAID HE WOULD SPEAK TO HIS EXPERTS AND SEEK A FORMULA WHICH WOULD BE NONDISCRIMINATORY.

6. FOLLOW-UP -- SHERER SAID HE HAD RECEIVED REPORTS WHICH SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT SOVIETS WERE LESS INTERESTED IN FOLLOW-UP, AND ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY CHANGE IN SOVIET POSITION ON THIS. KOVALEV STRESSED THAT SOVIET INTEREST IN THIS QUESTION HAS NOT DECREASED. SOVIETS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FIRMLY CZECH PROPOSAL FOR A CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. SOVIETS HAVE IN MIND A PERMANENT BODY BUT FORESEE CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY IN ARRANGEMENTS AND ARE OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS. THIS NEW BODY SHOULD NOT UNDERMINE CONSULTATIONS AMONG ALLIES OR INDEPENDENCE OF NEUTRALS. SOVIETS HOPE CSCE WILL TAKE AN EARLY DECISION ON CREATION OF AN ALL-EUROPEAN BODY. SHERER RECALLED THAT US WISHED TO STUDY CONFERENCE RESULTS BEFORE ARRIVING AT ANY CONCLUSIONS ON PERMANENT POLITICAL CONFIDENTIAL

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MACHINERY. US AND SOVIET POSITIONS ON THIS QUESTION WERE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT BUT WE HOPED THIS WOULD NOT BECOME AN ISSUE BETWEEN US. HE EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT A COMPROMISE COULD BE WORKED OUT.

7. THIRD PHASE -- SHERER ASKED IF SOVIET VIEW OF THIRD PHASE LEVEL WAS STILL THE SAME, AND NOTED HE HAD HEARD SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES EXPRESSING NEGATIVE VIEWS ON A THIRD PHASE AT HIGHEST LEVEL. KOVALEV STRESSED THAT SOVIETS WILL PUSH "TO THE MAXIMUM" FOR SUMMIT-LEVEL THIRD PHASE, WHICH WOULD BE JUSTIFIED BY HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF CSCE. SOME COUNTRIES MIGHT HAVE HESITATIONS ABOUT SUMMIT BECAUSE OF CONSIDERATIONS OF PRESTIGE BUT DECISION ON THIRD PHASE WILL BE TAKEN AT HIGHEST POLITICAL LEVELS IN CAPITALS AND NOT BY DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA. SHERER REPLIED THAT US POSITION ON THIRD PHASE REMAINED AS EXPRESSED IN US-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE OF LAST JUNE. HE AGREED THAT MERE FACT CSCE WAS HELD MADE IT IMPORTANT. NEVERTHELESS, THE MORE SUBSTANCE WE PUT INTO THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS, THE MORE JUSTIFICATION THERE WILL BE FOR A SUMMIT-LEVEL THIRD PHASE.

8. SHERER AND KOVALEV AGREED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH DURING THE COMING WEEKS AND TO CONSULT AS PROBLEMS ARISE. DALE

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